

Message Text

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SUBJECT: ATTACKS ON THE US IN GENERAL DEBATE STATEMENTS OF THE
30TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 22 SEPTEMBER TO 9 OCTOBER 1975

1. SUMMARY. OVER HALF OF THE 125 SPEAKERS IN GENERAL DEBATE
CRITICIZED THE US IN MILD TO SAVAGE TERMS. NO OTHER MAJOR POWER
RECEIVES ANYTHING CLOSE TO THIS AMOUNT OF ATTACK. OF THE 63
CRITICAL SPEAKERS, 15 WERE NOTABLY INTENSE. THE STRONGEST
CRITICISM CAME FROM THE NEWLY "LIBERATED" SOUTHEAST ASIANS, THE
MORE MILITANT ARABS AND AFRICANS, AND TWO LATIN AMERICAN STATES
WITH VERY SPECIFIC GRIEVANCES AGAINST THE US -- CUBA AND
PANAMA. CRITICS INVEIGHED MOST OFTEN AGAINST US IMPERIALISM
IN GENERAL (USUALLY REFERRING TO INDO-CHINA AND OUR USE OF
THE VETO, TYPICALLY REFERRING TO THE VETO OF THE TWO
VIETNAMS' UN MEMBERSHIP). OTHER TOPICS OF CRITICISM IN
DESCENDING ORDER: OUR PRESENCE IN KOREA, ECONOMIC IMP-
ERIALISM THROUGH SUPPORT OF THE TRANSNATIONALS, RESISTANCE TO
NIEO, CERDS, ETC., SUPPORT OF ISRAEL, SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA,
LACK OF "GENUINE PROGRESS" IN DISARMAMENT, AND CRITICISM OF THE
"NEW MAJORITY" IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT,
ETC. SEVERAL OTHER ISSUES WERE ALSO MENTIONED. ALTHOUGH MUCH OF
THE CRITICISM SEEMED PERFUNCTORY AND WAS SOMETIMES MILD IN
TONE, THE FACT REMAINS THAT THE US IS THE TARGET OF SUSTAINED
CRITICISM IN THE UNITED NATIONS, WHICH ONE CAN ONLY REGARD AS A
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HOSTILE FORUM. TO THE EXTENT THAT THIS REPRESENTS WORLD

OPINION AND AFFECTS THE POSITION OF THE U.S. AT THE UN, IT SHOULD BE KEPT CLEARLY IN MIND. END SUMMARY.

2. OF THE 125 SPEAKERS DURING GENERAL DEBATE, OVER HALF CRITICIZED THE US IN MILD TO SAVAGE TERMS. THE US IS THE ONLY MAJOR POWER WHICH RECEIVES ANYTHING NEAR TO THIS PROPORTION OF ATTACKS. IT IS TRUE THAT CHINA ATTACKS THE USSR AND THE USSR ATTACKS CHINA, AND A PLETHORA OF ATTACKS ARE VISITED UPON ISRAEL, SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA; BUT THE FACT REMAINS THAT THE US IS THE TARGET OF SUSTAINED CRITICISM. THE UN OFTEN CAN BE A HOSTILE FORUM, AND TO THE EXTENT THAT IT REFLECTS WORLD PUBLIC OPINION AND AFFECTS THE ATMOSPHERE AT THE UN AND THE U.S. POSITION THERE, THIS MUST BE KEPT IN MIND.

3. FIFTEEN OF THE 125 STATEMENTS STAND OUT AS BEING HIGHLY CRITICAL OF THE US IN TERMS OF INTENSITY, QUANTITY AND THE FACT THAT THEY CITE THE US BY NAME. THOSE STATEMENTS CAME FROM ALBANIA, CAMBODIA, CHINA, CUBA, DEMOCRATIC YEMEN, EQUATORIAL GUINEA, IRAQ, LAOS, LIBYA, MALI, MOZAMBIQUE, PANAMA, SOMALIA, SYRIA AND UGANDA. THE ONLY STATES ON THIS LIST WHO HAVE GENERALLY NOT BEEN TRADITIONAL CRITICS OF THE US ARE PANAMA AND MOZAMBIQUE; PANAMA IS OF COURSE GOING THROUGH A SERIES OF DELICATE AND INVOLVED NEGOTIATIONS OVER THE FUTURE OF THE CANAL ZONE AND USED ITS DEBATE STATEMENT AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO APPLY PRESSURE IN A WORLD FORUM, WHILE MOZAMBIQUE IS A NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATE THAT HAS ALIGNED ITSELF WITH OUR HARSHTEST CRITICS. THUS THE STRONGEST CRITICISM CAME MAINLY FROM THE "LIBERATED" SOUTH-EAST ASIANS, THE MORE MILITANT ARABS AND AFRICANS, THE CHINESE AND THEIR ALBANIAN ALLY, AND TWO LATIN AMERICAN STATES, PANAMA AND CUBA, WITH VERY SPECIFIC GRIEVANCES AGAINST THE US.

4. WHILE NOT ALL CRITICISM OF THE US WAS SEVERE, 48 OTHER STATES SAW FIT TO CRITICIZE THE US IN SOMEWHAT LESSER DEGREE, RANGING FROM A SEVERITY IMMEDIATELY BELOW THAT OF THE FIRST 15 TO A MILD REFERENCE TO ONE ASPECT OF US POLICY. THIS SECOND CATEGORY INCLUDES ALGERIA, BAHRAIN, BULGARIA, BURUNDI, BYELORUSSIAN SSR, CHAD, COLOMBIA, CONGO, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, DAHOMEY, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, ECUADOR, GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, GHANA, GUINEA, GUYANA, HUNGARY, INDIA, IRAN, JAMAICA, KENYA, KUWAIT, LESOTHO, MADAGASCAR, MAURITANIA, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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MAURITIUS, MEXICO, MONGOLIA, MOROCCO, NEW ZEALAND, NIGER, NIGERIA, PERU, RWANDA, SENEGAL, SIERRA LEONE, SRI LANKA, SUDAN, SWEDEN, TOGO, UKRAINIAN SSR, USSR, UNITED REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON, UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA, UPPER VOLTA, YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC, ZAIRE, AND ZAMBIA. THERE WERE FEW REAL SURPRISES IN THIS CATEGORY, AND IT SHOULD BE POINTED OUT THAT MUCH OF THE CRITICISM WAS MODERATE IN TONE AND CONSISTED OF REMARKS THAT WOULD NOT APPEAR OUT OF PLACE IN AN AMERICAN EDITORIAL PAGE.

5. THE ISSUE THAT GENERATED THE MOST CRITICISM OF THE US WAS THAT OF IMPERIALISM, COLONIALISM, ETC. MOST OF THIS CRITICISM TOOK THE FORM OF A REMARK HAILING THE VICTORY OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE OVER FOREIGN INTERFERENCE, BUT CONCERN OVER DIEGO GARCIA, THE INDIAN OCEAN ZONE OF PEACE, OR THE PANAMA CANAL WAS ALSO EXPRESSED. THE ALBANIAN REPRESENTATIVE STATED THAT "THE HEROIC PEOPLES OF VIET-NAM AND CAMBODIA HAVE CONQUERED ON THE BATTLE-FIELD THE AMERICAN IMPERIALIST AGGRESSORS AND THEIR LACKEYS, AND THEY INFLICTED ON THE UNITED STATES A MOST OVERWHELMING DEFEAT." MIRIAM MAKEBA, REPRESENTING GUINEA, CONVEYED "WARM CONGRATULATIONS...TO THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIET-NAM TO THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM AND TO CAMBODIA FOR THE BRILLIANT VICTORY WHICH THEIR PEOPLES HAVE JUST WON OVER THE GREATEST MILITARY POWER IN THE WORLD." FORTY-THREE COUNTRIES (34.4 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL SAMPLE AND 68.2 PERCENT OF THE CRITICS) REFERRED TO THIS ISSUE.

6. A CLOSE SECOND WAS ABUSE OF THE VETO, TYPICALLY IN REFERENCE TO THE VIETNAMS' MEMBERSHIP, BUT SOMETIMES MENTIONING USE OF THE VETO IN SUPPORT OF SOUTH AFRICA. FORTY-TWO COUNTRIES (33.6 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL AND 66.6 PERCENT OF THE CRITICS) USED THIS ISSUE. MAURITANIA CHARGED: "HAVING IMPLACABLY DEVASTED THE TWO VIET-NAMESE STATES, THE UNITED STATES OUGHT TO HAVE UNDERTAKEN TO ASSIST IN THEIR RECONSTRUCTION. NOT ONLY HAS THE UNITED STATES NOT SHOWN SUCH GENEROSITY: IT HAS EVEN GONE SO FAR AS TO OPPOSE THE ADMISSION OF THE TWO VIET-NAMESE STATES TO THE UNITED NATIONS BY THE ABUSIVE EXERCISE OF ITS VETO. MY COUNTRY CANNOT BUT DEPLORE SUCH AN ATTITUDE, WHICH NOTING CAN JUSTIFY."

7. TWENTY-SEVEN SPEAKERS, MAINLY FROM THIRD WORLD AND BLOC COUNTRIES (21.6 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL AND 42.9 PERCENT OF THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CRITICS), REFERRED TO OUR POLICY IN KOREA, ALTHOUGH IT WAS OFTEN ONLY A PIOUS WISH THAT "FOREIGN TROOPS" LEAVE. TWENTY-ONE NATIONS (16.8 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL AND 33.3 PERCENT OF THE CRITICS) CHARGED THE US WITH ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM THROUGH SUPPORT OF THE TRANSNATIONALS, RESISTANCE TO NIEO, CERDS, ETC. PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA OF MEXICO DECLARED THAT CERDS IS "NOT DIRECTED AGAINST ANY PARTICULAR NATION. IT IS DIRECTED AGAINST THE ILLEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THE SUPRANATIONAL GROUPS THAT ARE PROTECTED BY CERTAIN STATES WHOSE IMAGE IS TARNISHED BY THOSE VERY CORPORATIONS BECAUSE OF THEIR IDENTIFICATION WITH ACTS THAT GO BEYOND THE BOUNDS OF LAW AND SOVEREIGNTY," AND RWANDA OBSERVED THAT "IT IS REGRETTABLE THAT SINCE THE THIRD WORLD MADE ITS VOICE HEARD, TO DEMAND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER, WE FIND, AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES ORGANIZED FOR THAT PURPOSE, ATTITUDES WHICH ARE

NOT CONSTRUCTIVE OR WHICH ARE MERELY NEGATIVE ON THE PART OF
CERTAIN POWERS, AND THOSE NOT THE LEAST AMONG THEM.

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THOSE ATTITUDES WHICH ARE SOMETIMES ACCOMPANIED BY THREATS TO
USE FORCE ... ARE ALL THE MORE REGRETTABLE IN VIEW OF THE FACT
THAT PROPOSALS OF THE THIRD WORLD CONCEAL NOTHING THAT COULD
IN ANY WAY INJURE THEIR RIGHTS OR STATUS AS GREAT POWERS." CRITICS
IN THESE FIRST FOUR AREAS WERE MAINLY THIRD WORLD AND COMMUNIST
STATES.

8. SEVENTEEN, USUALLY ARAB, (13.6 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL
AND 27.0 PERCENT OF THE CRITICS) EXPRESSED THEMSELVES IN TONES
RANGING FROM MILD CONCERN TO OUTRIGHT VILIFICATION ON THE SUBJECT
OF US SUPPORT OF ISRAEL. KUWAIT REMARKED THAT "THE TOTALITY OF
AMERICAN COMMITMENTS TO ISRAEL CONSTITUTE AN OMINOUS PRECEDENT,
STRENGTHENING ISRAEL'S DETERMINATION TO RESIST WITHDRAWAL FROM
THE OTHER OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, HARDENING ISRAEL'S INTRAN-
SIGENCE ...", AND THIS WAS FAIRLY MODERATE IN VIEW OF LIBYA'S
STATEMENT, "CAN WE BELIEVE THE FORCE WHICH SUPPORTS OPPRESSION,
ARMS AGGRESSION, AND OFFERS THE MOST SOPHISTICATED AND FATAL ARMS
TO THE ZIONIST REGIME TO PERPETUATE ITS OCCUPATION OF PALESTINE
AND MAINTAIN ITS DOMINATION OF OTHER ARAB TERRITORIES, SPREADING
HAVOC AND TERRORISM IN THE MOST SENSITIVE AREAS OF THE WORLD ...
HOW CAN WE BELIEVE SUCH A FORCE? ... WE CALL UPON THE AMERICAN
PEOPLE TO REALIZE THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE PRACTICES OF THEIR
GOVERNING ESTABLISHMENT." EVEN THIS PALES BESIDE THE OBSCENE

REMARKS OF IDI AMIN. "HOW CAN WE EXPECT PEACE, FREEDOM
AND JUSTICE IN THE WORLD WHEN SUCH A POWERFUL NATION AS
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THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IS IN THE HANDS OF THE ZIONISTS?
I CALL UPON THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA...
TO RID THEIR SOCIETY OF THE ZIONISTS IN ORDER THAT THE TRUE
CITIZENS OF THIS NATION MAY CONTROL THEIR OWN DESTINY..."

9. SIXTEEN MAINLY AFRICAN SPEAKERS CRITICIZED US SUPPORT
GIVEN TO SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA, ALONG WITH THAT PROVIDED
BY OTHER STATES. SMALIA DECLARED "ATTEMPTS TO USE ALL THE
RESOURCES OF THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM IN THE CAMPAIGN TO
ELIMINATE THE BLOT ON OUR WORLD CIVILIZATION (APARTHEID) ARE
LABELLED IN SOME QUARTERS AS THE IRRESPONSIBLE OR UNENFORCEABLE
DECISIONS OF A MECHANICAL MAJORITY, WHILE THE EXPRESSIONS OF
OUR INDIGNATION AT THE SYSTEMATIC DEHUMANIZATION OF OUR
BROTHERS IS OFTEN DISMISSED AS RHETORIC. IN THE FACE OF OUR
DETRACTORS' MASSIVE FINANCIAL, ECONOMIC, MILITARY AND
DIPLOMATIC INVOLVEMENT WITH SOUTH AFRICA WE ARE ASKED TO BELIEVE
THAT IT IS ONLY OUR METHODS THAT ARE QUESTIONED AND NOT THE
SUBSTANCE OF OUR PROTEST."

10. FOURTEEN MOSTLY THIRD WORLD SPEAKERS (11.2 PERCENT OF
THE TOTAL AND 2.2 PERCENT OF THE CRITICS) BUT ALSO NEW ZEALAND
AND SWEDEN EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER THE LACK OF "GENUINE
PROGRESS" ON DISARMAMENT AND CRITICIZED THE US IN CONJUNCTION
WITH THE OTHER NUCLEAR SUPERPOWER(S).

11. SEVERAL OTHER POINTS WERE BROUGHT UP. SEVERAL THIRD WORLD
SPEAKERS RESPONDED TO US CRITICISM OF THE "NEW MAJORITY" IN
THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. BLOC COUNTRIES REFERRED TO ELEMENTS IN THE
WEST WHO STOOD AGAINST DETENTE. CZECHOSLOVAKIA WARNED THAT
"THOSE WHO SOW DOUBTS ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF DETENTE SHOULD
REALIZE THAT THEY WILL BE PLAYING INTO THE HANDS OF THOSE FORCES
WHICH, FOR THEIR OWN SELFISH INTERESTS WISH TO RETURN THE
WORLD TO THE PERIOD OF COLD WAR AND DANGEROUS CONFRONTATION."
THE WESTERN PRESS WAS STRONGLY CRITICIZED BY COLOMBIA AND
EQUATORIAL GUINEA FOR ITS DEPICTION OF THE THIRD WORLD. COLOMBIA
REMARKED, "THE REALITIES WHICH ARE TODAY APPARENT IN THE CIVIL
LIFE OF CERTAIN AFFLUENT SOCIETIES ARE HARDLY EDIFYING AND
HARDLY ENTITLE THEIR PRESS TO JUDGE THE CONDUCT OF THE DEVELOPING
COUNTRIES WITH SUCH A NOTORIOUS LACK OF MODERATION, EQUITY AND
PRUDENCE." THE COLOMBIAN SPEAKER ALSO OBSERVED THAT "IT IS
HARDLY AN EDIFYING SIGHT WHEN SOME TRADE UNIONS OF THE GREAT
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POWERS LOBBY THEIR GOVERNMENT TO PREVENT THEIR MAKING ESSENTIAL REFORMS." IRAN, ALGERIA, AND CHINA ATTACKED OUR CRITICISM OF OPEC. THE IRANIAN REPRESENTATIVE STATED: "SINCE THE CLOSURE OF THE SPECIAL SESSION SOME FACTIONS FROM THE INDUSTRIAL WORLD HAVE CONTINUED TO ATTEMPT TO PLACE THE BLAME FOR THE CURRENT ECONOMIC CRISIS ON OPEN AND HAVE GONE SO FAR AS TO THREATEN TO ACT JOINTLY WITH THEIR ALLIES TO BREAK THE GRIP OF OIL PRODUCING NATIONS ON ENERGY PRICES."

OTHER STATES EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT WE WERE NEGOTIATING OUTSIDE THE FORMAT OF THE UN. SWEDEN NOTED: "IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT THAT THESE LATTER STATES NOT BE MADE LOSERS THROUGH AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE GREAT POWERS IN THE NAME OF DETENTE. IN TODAY'S INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IT SHOULD BE IN THE INTERESTS OF THE GREAT POWERS TO ANCHOR THEIR SETTLEMENTS IN THE UNITED NATIONS, AND IN THIS WAY LET ALL STATES SHARE IN THE DECISION-MAKING AND RESPONSIBILITY." LIBYA AND SENEGAL "REGRETTED" THE LACK OF COURTESY SHOWN TO IDI AMIN, AND CUBA, ALONG WITH DEMOCRATIC YEMEN, SUPPORTED THE PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT. CUBA DECLARED THAT "IN SPITE OF THE GREAT OBSTACLES IT HAS HAD TO CONFRONT, DESPITE IMPERIALIST PLANS TO ABSORB IT AND ANNIHILATE IT AS A NATION, PUERTO RICO IS AN ADMIRABLE EXAMPLE OF NATIONAL RESISTANCE."

PANAMA WAS JOINED BY UGANDA IN THE MATTER OF THE US CANAL ZONE. COSTA RICA ALSO SPOKE AT SOME LENGTH IN SUPPORTING PANAMA'S CASE. PANAMA TERMED IT "THE RESULT OF COLONIALIST PRACTICES CARRIED OUT ... BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA... ALL THE PEOPLES OF LATIN AMERICAN, ASIA, AFRICA AND THE WORLD REPUDIATE THIS TYPICAL FORMULA OF RAMPANT COLONIALISM..." CHINA AND ALBANIA OF COURSE COULD BE DEPENDED UPON TO ATTACK THE US AS PART OF THE HEGEMONY OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS, BUT PROBABLY WERE HARsher TOWARD THE SOVIETS THAN THE US, AND VICE VERSA.

12. MUCH OF THE CRITICISM RECEIVED WAS FAIRLY PERFUNCTORY WITH THAT OF THE BLOC COUNTRIES OFTEN VERY MUTED INDEED. ONE OFTEN HAD THE SENSE THAT ONE WAS LISTENING TO SOME SORT OF LITANY RATHER THAN A SERIOUS EXPOSITION OF POLICY. WHILE WE ARE LEFT WITH THE FACT THAT 63 SPEAKERS (50.4 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL) CRITICIZED THE US IN SOME DEGREE, WE CAN NOTE THAT MUCH OF THE CRITICISM WAS MILD IN TONE, AND 62 COUNTRIES DID NOT CRITICIZE US AT ALL. HOWEVER, IT REMAINS SOMEWHAT VEXING INsofar AS IT REFLECTS WORLD PUBLIC OPINION AND AS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SUCH RHETORICAL INDULGENCES IMPEDE THE REAL WORK OF THE U.S. WITHIN THE UNITED NATIONS.
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